4: Krämer--280-281 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 756, 796 Woleai

Lütke tells us a few things about the religion, but it is uncertain whether everything deals with Oleai. There is also doubt about the following report by Freycinet, which does not seem to be without importance for the total picture and therefore shall be treated here: Hammo or Hammulap can be seen only by a few, but they hear him and serve as media for his orders, through shamanism. Even children may be the carriers of his news. The obsessed howl and have convulsions. Shamans are covered with oil, painted, and carry two lances; they shout as they approach. They attack the sick person who rises and tries to defend himself. They fight, then throw away the lances, and dances of the rods are performed for days and sometimes for weeks until the sorcerer is definitely the victor. Thus the will of Anulap becomes known. An annual festival is celebrated for Anulap and lasts for an entire month. It means that the men must stay away from women often up to two months. No sail may be hoisted, and during the first week no boat may set out to sea. Strangers are not allowed to land on the island. Four days before the main celebration, coconuts and breadfruit are gathered. The morning of the principal day is spent fishing. [281] Then everyone goes to the temple, led, which is an ordinary house. It is closed for one night. The next morning after sunrise, while the population is assembled, the chief enters the house through the northern door. He is elaborately ornamented and carries a stick in his right hand, with which he apparently feels his way. He looks down in front of himself and mumbles to himself. His brother, leading a small group of islanders, enters the house just before the chief through the

door on the southern side. The people are seated, but rise when the chief enters and sits down on three beautiful mats. Then the others may also sit. No one else is allowed in the sanctuary. The brother goes up to the provisions that are set up and takes a little from each one of the fifty dishes. He gives the largest fish and the biggest coconut to the chief with a basket and cracks 50-60 nuts for him. The rest he distributes among the people present and then sits down next to his brother to partake of the breakfast with him. As remuneration for his services, he receives the husks of the nuts, which are of great value for the making of ropes. Within half an hour everything is over. Now the house is once more accessible for anyone. Only the ashes must not be touched. Sick people usually stay in the building, but not alone for fear of Anulap.

28: Spiro--61 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 756 Ifalik

"Where therapeutic care is indicated, the procedure is as follows. Usually Arogeligar is called to diagnose the illness and its cause and to prescribe the cure. He then performs the healing. If his cure is not efficacious, others will attempt to cure the victim by means of medicine they learned in their family. Arogeligar, though the chief healer is not the only one who can perform the healing ceremonies. If others know the technique, they are permitted to do so, though they are few in number, so that in the case of the illness of Navor, her mother's brother, Mariligar, the second ranking chief, performed the ceremony."

28: Spiro--73 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 428, 756, 158 Ifalik

"The person, who has figured so prominently in these ceremonies, Arogeligar, is the tamon alusuia, leader for (matters concerning) the alus. The tamon alusuia is the religio-medical specialist, but like the other specialists he devotes only part of his time to his specialty, since he assumes the same economic responsibilities as the other men. The office of tamon alusuia is inherited patrilineally, it being passed on from the incumbent to any male relative in his patrilineal line, so that Arogeligar succeeded his father's brother to the office. But descent is not sufficient, for a successor must be designated by Tilitr in a state of possession for the office. The incumbent in the office appoints a male relative as his successor upon the request of the latter, and instructs his in the lore and knowledge of the position. At the death of the tamon, his designated successor seeks possession or a vision, not unlike the Plains Indians vision. Arogeligar, for example, brought Tilitr gifts of food and flowers to his shrine. He ate and slept very little, if at all, and asked Tilitr to appear to him. Finally Tilitr did appear, in late afternoon, and Arogeligar remained possessed for four days. Tilitr appeared in the form of a man, rested heavily on Arogeligar's shoulders, and spoke to him in Ifalukian. Tilitr taught him how to call upon him for medicine, and he instructed him to 'look out good this place, the people and the chief for this place. If you don't, you very bad man.' This experience, then, made Arogeligar a full-fledged tamon alusuia.

Since that initial possession, Tilitr has possessed Arogeligar many times, either to inform him of some event, as when he told him of the impending American victory over

the Japanese, or to give him medicine, that is, to inform him what kind of medicine, that is, to inform him what kind of medicine to employ in a certain illness. For after Arogeligar diagnoses any illness, he then goes to bwuter Tilitr, and asks Tilitr if he should apply medicine to the victim, and what kind. Tilitr then answers him, instructing him how to obtain the medicine. Arogeligar informed me that he is usually possessed at least twice a week, and sometimes more often. When Arogeligar talks to Tilitr, asking for medicine, his request has the same name as a conversation with a mortal, 'Meliali'. There is no term corresponding to our term, prayer, for there really is no concept of prayer. The chapeng are really incantations. When Tilitr possesses Arogeligar, he uses him as the mouthpiece through which he speaks, so that it is Tilitr and not Arogeligar who is speaking. This is called Arogeligar le'Tilitr.

Unlike the other people who are possessed only by the alus of their lineage, Arogeligar is possessed only by [sic] and by Tilikong, an alus who does the bidding of Tilitr. The tamon alusuia assumes the name of our alus when he takes office. Arogeligar is Tilievo. His successor has chosen Talevearo.

It is apparent that though the possession and induction into the office of tamon alusuia involves a personal, psychological experience, it is one that is completely culturally patterned. Only certain individuals can inherit the office; they prepare for it by formal

training, and by psychological conditioning, so that it is not strange that the sought-for vision should materialize."

28: Spiro--73-74 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 756, 868

"The incumbent in the office [WPM: of Tamon Alusuia. See p. 73, paragraph 1] trains not only his successor, but also a number of others who act as minor functionaries in the public ceremonies and in the curing ceremonies. Arogeligar, for example, is now training twenty-three individuals, ten males, and thirteen females. These assistants gather herbs for medicine, assist in the public ceremonies, and at times, when Arogeligar finds that a victim is possessed by a very powerful alus, for whose exorcism his medicine is not sufficient, he asks them to bring medicine they know, or that they learned from their parents.

When he is called in to heal, it is with the understanding that he is to be payed if his healing is successful, but he received nothing if the victim should die. His payment consists of lavalava, or rope, but there is no stipulated amount. [74]

The tamon alusuia not only receives payment for healing he also receives payment for teaching his songs to his assistants. This, Dr. Burrows suggested to me, might imply a concept of ownership in the songs. When I questioned him on this point, Arogeligar was firm in insisting that the songs were owned by Tilitr and not by him, and the payment he received was for his time, so that he is payed approximately the amount of rope or fish or lavalava that he might have been expected to manufacture in the time devoted to the instruction."